harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

771
795
778
782
796
778
788
273

than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

778
186

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

776
186

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is duende; he lives at the headwaters of

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

622
643
156
[787]

personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

[772]
[783]

622
643
156
782
796

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

622
643
156
782
796
[688]

old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cimarrón house in Encanto. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Encanto when needed.

It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

622
643
156
765